

7-1984

Tokyo Shimbun Interviews, Parts 7-14

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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ARTICLES

TOKYO SHIMBUN (Page 1) (Full)

July 22, 1984

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 7)

Pacific Age, Near at Hand; Japan-US Axis Is the Key

Both Democratic Nations

I am very satisfied with the relationship between Japan and the US, as a whole. I have been saying this a number of times, in the past, and I intend to repeat it in the future, too, but there is no more important bilateral relationship than that between Japan and the US in the world. There is no room to doubt this. I am saying this, standing on the basis of the fact that, over the past 35 years, or rather, close to 40 years, the two countries have built up this relationship, understanding each other well and warmly.

Japan and the US have become mutually inter-dependent, and if they join forces together, they will be able to achieve great work not only for the two nations alone, but also for international society. Reversely, if the two countries were to act separately, the influence they could have displayed, to begin with, will be reduced to a corresponding extent. This point is clear.

As to why the Japan-US relationship is important for the world, the first reason is that these two countries are both democratic nations. Japan is the one and only real democratic nation in Asia.

Secondly, Japan and the US are linked together with an extremely big trade pipeline. The trade volume between the two nations exceeded 63 billion dollars both ways, last year. In 1975, or only just nine years ago, America's total trade volume with East Asia, both ways, amounted to only a little over 42 billion dollars. If one considers this, it is an amazingly fast growth. Including the 63-billion-dollar trade with Japan, America's total trade volume with East Asia as a whole was 133 billion dollars last year.

For three years or four years in succession, America's trade with East Asia has exceeded its trade with West Europe, which used to be America's foremost trading partner. This kind of trend will become more conspicuous, in the future, year by year.

In addition, America has an action pattern of looking toward the west. A large part of its people came from Europe. My parents were immigrants from Ireland, and in our MANSFIELD family, I was the first child to be born in America. From the early days of our independence, America had strong ties with Europe. However, it also had the tendency to move westward to the Pacific and to Asia.

To pursue these moves, one finds the fact that the day America's first President George WASHINGTON was inaugurated, 13 American sailing ships were lying at anchor in the port of Guangzhou in China. Since then, the moves of the population on the American continent have constantly been westward.

First, the move was to Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, which were then called the Northwest. Then they moved through the Midwest to Texas in the southwest, and to California, crossing the Rockies, and still further to Alaska, which is today's Northwest, and advanced further to Hawaii and the Philippines.

As Many as 700,000 Japanese-Americans

The movement of the population to the south and to the west is continuing, even today. At the same time, there is a reverse flow of population, with people coming to America from the nations in the south and in the west of the world. There are now as many as 700,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry, and two of the 100 Senators are Japanese-Americans. Before the re-election, there were three Senators, including Mr. HAYAKAWA, who did not seek re-election. There were also three, no, four Japanese-American House of Representative members, and there was one Japanese-American Governor.

At any rate, there are as many as 700,000 Japanese Americans in the total population of 240 million in America. This is a wonderful thing. Furthermore, they are excellent American citizens.

The number of citizens of Chinese and Philippine ancestry is still bigger, and also as a result of American's unfortunate intervention in Southeast Asia, the number of persons of Vietnamese ancestry has also increased. There is also an influx of population from other Asian nations, and Americans of Asian ancestry have become a new component of the country.

As a result of the movement of the population to the south and to the west in America, a new pattern came to appear also in America's trade. America's relationship of interest also develops along this pattern. America's relations with nations which are situated to the west of America, will deepen, without doubt, for the next several years, for the next several decades, or rather for many centuries to come.

50 Percent of the World Population

It is my belief that the 21st century will be the "age of the Pacific." In the areas on the rim of the Pacific, there are four South American countries, all the countries of Central America and North America, Australia and New Zealand. There are also the islands in the Pacific Ocean, and the various East Asian nations, such as Japan. When the times become better, China will eventually come to join the group of other East Asian nations.

More than half of the world's population lives in the regions on the rim of the Pacific. It is rich in natural resources, and it has great potentiality as promising markets. The peoples and the Governments are also friendly, as a whole.

As to what development this region will achieve from now to the future, this will depend on how powerful the relationship between Japan and the US is, and how durable and continuous this relationship will be.

This is because the relationship between Japan and the US actually exists in this region for this region, and it is also because I think that the future of our two countries will also depend on this region.

(To be continued)

KH/3939t

NIHON KEIZAI (Page 2) (Full)

July 21, 1984

MIYAZAWA Criticizes NAKASONE Cabinet's Plan for Re-construction of Finances

Kiichi MIYAZAWA (SUZUKI Faction Acting Chairman) of the LDP participated in a panel discussion of the LDP Karuizawa Seminar on the afternoon of the 20th, and MIYAZAWA, in regard to how to promote the re-construction of finances, stated as follows: "The Government has not yet shown any view concerning how it will be able to break away from its constitution of depending on deficit-covering Government bonds in fiscal 1985. The Finance Ministry's Medium-Term Financial View just shows the case that if things become this way, things will become that way. It is questionable to say 'How to work out methods, will be entrusted to the people'." With this, MIYAZAWA criticized the NAKASONE Cabinet's plan for re-construction of finances. Further, MIYAZAWA stated, "I called for a better way of operating finances, and in this way, I posed a problem." Thus, MIYAZAWA introduced his Assets-Doubling Theory, and emphasized as follows: "I expect that there will be a 9%-level increase in tax revenues from now on. In that case, it will be possible to stop issuing deficit-covering Government bonds in fiscal 1990."

IM/3931t

July 23, 1984

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 8)No One to Blame But One's Own Self; US Must Also Make EffortsMutual Respect Increases

Behind the economic friction between Japan and the US, there are their respectively different circumstances. America is a country extremely rich in diversity, while Japan is a country whose characteristic feature is its uniformity. These characteristics become an important factor which sways our ways of thinking and modes of action. At any rate, however, when the world becomes smaller, and when the means of communications develop, the posture of mutual understanding and the posture for respecting each other's position will become stronger, without fail.

There are various barriers to trade between Japan and the US. They are what are called non-tariff barriers. However, they are gradually being removed and improved. I think that the liberalization of the Japanese market has made greater progress than is thought by a large majority of the American people. As regards this problem, I think that the Japanese Government has firm determination and that it is also making efforts.

However, the problem cannot be settled by one country alone to change. The attitude for both countries to do what they must do is important for the removing of trade barriers.

Japan has been piling up efforts, such as the improvement of the standards for commodities and the export certificate system, the liberalization of the capital market, the internationalization of the yen, and various agreements concerning tariffs on commodities, and the situation is proceeding in a favorable direction.

In the same way, there should also be things which we, on the US side, should also do, as long as we are seeking Japan's opening of its market. As a country which most enjoys the benefits of the international trade system, there must also be things which Japan should do, even in order to protect its own interests. Countries other than Japan must also admit that they also all have their respective internal problems which they should resolve.

To list some examples, they include the raising of productivity, the improvement of quality, competition in the price field, the strengthening of after-service, etc. We cannot ask Japan to do them for us. They are what only we ourselves can do.

America can blame no one but its own self for the illness from which it is suffering, so to speak. We alone can cure ourselves of it. Therefore, it will be of no help to point to Japan and to call for "the liberalization of the market" and "the complete sweeping away of the trade imbalance." There is no way that this can help.

If Japan decides to liberalize its market 100 percent, it can do so. However, even then, Japan's surplus trade balance will probably remain. Therefore, we must not expect to cure our own illness by using Japan as a scapegoat.

I will repeat, most of the causes for our illness lie in our own self and it is only our own self which can remove most of these causes. Even though Japan can help us by opening its market, that alone will not dissolve America's trade deficits.

Should Adopt Japan's Methods

Through Japan's efforts, Japan-US economic relations have taken a big step forward in the right direction. Even so, however, there still remain things which must be done. As for ourselves, we must look at the mote in our own eye squarely, and we must do what only we ourselves can do for the internal improvement of America itself. This is important.

Recently, there are increasing American enterprises which adopt Japanese-style methods for personnel management and production control. This is a welcome matter. They should have done so earlier.

Of course, they are not necessarily methods unique to Japan alone. It is that they are now reviving the methods which America had also adopted in the past.

The American people are the most productive people in the world, even today. In recent years, this productivity did not show such great growth as such countries as Japan and West Germany. However, they are now making efforts to regain their original power, learning from the lesson of the decline of business. As a matter of fact, productivity is starting to rise.

The American people are showing greater interest in quality control. This was stimulated by the fine quality of the products which Japan exports to America. America is now trying to re-evaluate the role of quality control, which it had abandoned, despite the fact that it had urged Japan to adopt it in the past.

Heading in Direction of a Strong Country, Once Again

If America were to re-consolidate the various conditions of the days when America grew into a great country in the past, America can once again become a strong country. It is for this reason that America is making efforts. The pace is not so fast, but what is clear is that now is the time when we must do what we must do. Let me repeat that, rather than to criticize Japan or other countries, we must act, standing on the awareness that many of the causes of the difficulties of the American economy lie in America itself.

In Japan, the workers and the management, and the enterprises and the Government co-operate with each other. In America, too, there are now appearing efforts to re-adjust the confrontation relationship which exists within America, and to create co-operative relationships among labor and management and between enterprises and Government, like those which exist in Japan. There are not a few things which America can learn as to how Japan created its present environment.

(To be continued)

KH/3943t

July 24, 1984

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 9)Unexpected Post of Ambassador; Accepted as It Was "Assignment in Japan"Attracted by East Asia

Attracted by East Asia, I was a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee, as Congressman and Senator. However, I had not fulfilled any spectacular role in the promotion of America's Asian policy. However, in the meaning that I made efforts to impress on the US Government and people how important East Asia is, in the world, and how necessary it is for America to continue to harbor interest in the region and to be involved with it, I think that it is possible to say that I fulfilled a continuous role.

Here, I used the expression "to be involved with it." However, I do not mean it in a military way. What I mean is that America must continue to deepen interchange with the various nations of East Asia in the economic and cultural fields.

I have been told that the Japanese people remember that, when I was still the Democratic Party Senate Majority Leader, I opposed the escalation of the Vietnam War and advocated the need for a US-China rapprochement (Note). From the beginning, my view was that America should not intervene (militarily) in Southeast Asia. That is because it is not in the best interests of America, and also because it is not directly linked with America's security or welfare.

Basically speaking, America is a Pacific nation, whose interests lie along the edge of Asia. It is definitely not a nation of the Asian continent.

I said in the past that the Vietnam War was the most tragic mistake in American diplomatic history. What was the Vietnam War, for America? Why did America intervene in that area? Why was it viewed that its intervention was in the interests of America and for its security? It goes without saying that it was not in America's national interests. This way of thinking is valid, even today.

I am repeating myself, but America should not have intervened in Vietnam. By intervening, what did we gain?

Was it for the purpose of curbing the advance of the People's Republic of China, which was said to stand behind Vietnam? If so, China has become our friend today.

What were the costs of the intervention in Vietnam? 360,000 American officers and men were wounded. 60,000 were killed. In addition, we spent several hundred billion dollars. For what purpose did we really intervene?

Recognizing of China Is a Matter of Course

As for US-China rapprochement, it was natural for the time to come, around that time, for extending some recognition or other to China. Even before the then President NIXON's visit to China in February, 1972, President NIXON and I held talks a number of times on the possibility of recognizing China. The breakfast meeting at the White House, held once every week, was the place for our talks. At this breakfast meeting, I recall that the main topic was the problem of recognizing China.

In those days, there was the view in Washington that China stood behind Vietnam and that as Sino-Soviet relations were still close, America should not approach China. However, it was President NIXON who broke through that way of thinking. The Presidents who followed, that is, Presidents FORD, CARTER and REAGAN, all took the same position.

In this way, it can be said that US-China relations now stand on a fairly firm foundation. At times, troublesome problems arise. They are mainly in intertwinement with Taiwan. Eventually, however, the Chinese of Taiwan and the Chinese of the mainland will come to hold talks with each other directly and find China's own way for settling the problem, without fail.

The Third Time Turned out to Be the "Real Thing"

After my retirement from the political world in January, 1977, when I was asked by President CARTER, soon after his inauguration, whether I would not accept the post of Ambassador to Japan, I was really surprised. At first, when the President offered several Ambassadorial posts to me, I declined, saying that I was not interested. I wanted to enjoy my retirement. The President did not owe me anything, and I also did not owe him anything. I was not interested in the work of an Ambassador.

It was when the President came to see me for the third time that he offered the post of Ambassador to Japan. I consulted my wife, and in the end, decided to accept. The post of Ambassador to Japan was the one post which I thought I might consider accepting, after retirement. Even so, however, neither my wife nor I even dreamed that this post would be offered to me.

Why did I accept the post of Ambassador to Japan? It was because this post was related to East Asia, and furthermore, it was in a country which was most important in East Asia. If I were to say that it was because I had always been attracted by this region from my young days, and that I had continued to harbor interest in its future and its relations with America, all through my life, would it answer your question?

(Note) He delivered a speech in opposition to the escalation of the Vietnam War, at a plenary session of the Senate in July, 1967, as the Democratic Party Senate Majority Leader. In March, 1968, the following year, he called for the breaking of the deadlocked US-China relations for the ending of the Vietnam War, at his alma mater, Montana State University.

(To be continued)

KH/3949t

ADVANCE COPY

TOKYO SHIMBUN (Page 1) (Full)

July 25, 1984

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 10)

No Difference between Democratic and Republican Parties; Attaching of Still Greater Importance to Japan

Party Control Weakens

When the political systems of Japan and the US are compared, there are many similarities. In both countries, the Legislature consists of two Chambers which are elected, and in recent times, a large amount of funds is needed to run as a candidate in elections, in both countries. Of course, in America, the general date of an election is decided in advance, and consequently, the term of office for the legislature members is set. Under the Japanese parliamentary system, however, the dissolution of the Lower House is permitted, and as a result, there is the difference that the term of office of Diet members can be shortened or lengthened.

In Japan, furthermore, there are some differences in the authority of the House of Councillors and the House of Representatives, but in America, where there is the Senate and the House of Representatives, the authority of the two Houses is very similar.

In regard to the Supreme Court, too, it cannot be considered that Japan's Supreme Court has the same heavy responsibility as America's Supreme Court. Japan's Supreme Court is not given such absolute and big authority as that given to the US Supreme Court under the American Constitution.

As for the political party systems in the two countries, the two major Parties, that is, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, take the reins of government alternately, in America. In Japan, however, there is the majority Party, which has been holding the reins of government for a long time and a large number of Opposition Parties. Under this kind of system, I think that it is a little more difficult to conduct politics in Japan.

Still further, in the case of the two major Parties in America, it is not clear where the two differ, on many points. It is for this very reason that the political system in American functions very smoothly. I think it is a good thing that American politics is operated under the two-Party system. If there had been many political parties, will there not arise many difficult problems? That is because a tremendous amount of time will be needed for the co-ordination, compromise and unifying of views among the various Parties.

In regard to the functions of the political parties, too, there are some differences between Japan and the US. There are factions also within the two major Parties in America, but I think that they have been coping with this, somehow or other, and that they have been co-ordinating the differences in views and arriving at a compromise or settlement. However, it is also true that solidarity within the two major Parties has weakened.

The result of this is the gaining of strength by individualism and the weakening of Party control. To begin with, Party control has never been very strong in America. Today, however, cases where the members head in whatever direction they desire, according to their respective inclinations, are increasing.

Structure Is Rigid in Japan

Compared with this situation, the political party structure in Japan is rigid, and it seems that control over the Party members is also strict. It can perhaps be called democratic control. I have the feeling that this political party system, in which control is exercised strictly, extends to all parts of the operation of the Diet.

When compared with the confrontation between the Ruling and Opposition Parties in Japan, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party have generally taken charge of the Administration alternately, in America, and I am often asked the question as to what differences there are between these two Parties' policies toward Japan. My observation is that both Parties are coming to attach great importance to Japan, generally speaking.

However, it was not that way until recently. Both Parties did not pay much attention to Japan. Even if Japan did something, they viewed it as natural. I think this trend was a product of the age after World War II.

However, with the change in the world situation, and with Japan attaining development in the direction of a super big power economically, Japan became a big power, in a general meaning. As a result of this, Japan has come to take upon itself still bigger responsibility in the political and diplomatic fields. This brought about a change in the degree of interest in Japan in both the Democratic and the Republican Parties.

Restrictions of Actual Politics

However, the American political system shows, at times, moves which are extremely difficult to understand, even for Americans. To list an example, in the Presidential election campaign this year, there are persons, even among the Democratic Party candidates, who advocate protectionist trade. The Democratic Party, which made free trade its Party principle, is doing this. On the other hand, the Republican Party, which had often been viewed as a symbol of high tariffs, is now resisting the waves of protectionist legislation and has become the political party which takes the stand of desperately blocking such moves.

This fact shows that, once a Party takes the reins of government, it has no choice but to face the reality and conduct politics. In other words, this means that, among the public pledges made during the campaign period, there are some which lose validity, once the person who advocated them assumes a position of responsibility.

At any rate, viewed in the eyes of the Democratic and Republican Parties, it can be said that Japan-US relations have become mature. It can be said definitely that, especially with the advent of President REAGAN, who is oriented toward the Asia-Pacific region and who has close relations with Prime Minister NAKASONE, this attitude of attaching importance to Japan and East Asia, as an equal presence has gained further momentum.

(To be continued)

KH/3970t

BJ

TOKYO SHIMBUN (Page 1) (Full)

July 26, 1984

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 11)

Effects of Security Treaty; Beneficial to Both Japan and the US

Restrictions of Article 9 of the Constitution

The other day, JDA Director General KURIHARA held talks with Chinese National Defense Minister ZHANG Aiping. I found the statement, which was issued at that time, interesting. According to the statement, which was reported in the papers, National Defense Minister ZHANG accepted the existence of the Japan-US Security Treaty. A still more important point is that National Defense Minister ZHANG said that "All nations have the right to defend their own country."

For the past 13 years, Japan has been making steady and significant progress, heading in the direction of defending its own country. It is continuing to move forward today, too. America is very grateful for this.

This would not have been an easy task for any of the successive Prime Ministers or for the Diet. That is because, in Japan, there is the restriction of Article 9 of the Constitution, which renounces war and which prescribes the non-possession of war potential in any form, and because it must also give consideration to the question of how its Asian neighbors, who had all or a part of their national territories occupied during the Pacific War, will view Japan's strengthening of its armaments. Still further, it is also because a consensus among the Japanese people was needed.

There are also other reasons, too. From their resentment toward the military, which dragged them into the Pacific War, the Japanese people harbor strong anti-military sentiments, even today. In addition, there is the very severe financial situation of the country, which has compelled it to compile an extremely stringent budget, because of the large-scale deficit finances over the past six or seven years. When these various points are considered, I think that Japan's efforts for the strengthening of its self-defense power were no easy thing.

In that meaning, it is possible to say that Japan has been doing very well in the midst of such a difficult environment. From the bottom of my heart, I cannot agree with the criticism that Japan "is taking a free ride on the Security Treaty," simply for the reason that Japan is disbursing only less than one percent of its GNP for defense expenditures.

Obtaining America's complete approval, Japan has been doing what is necessary for itself, with its own power. After the ending of the Pacific War, Japan had to rise from the ashes of war devastation like a phoenix. It had to start from zero, and it had no choice but to make a new start, starting over again from the very beginning. In the field of trade, it was in a situation where protection was needed. There were these circumstances for Japan.

Differences in the Composition of Budget

It is said that Japan is disbursing less than one percent of its GNP as defense expenditures. However, if the defense budget is calculated by the formula used in America and the NATO nations, and if military annuities and pensions for the still living are also included, Japan is disbursing about 1.6 percent of its GNP as defense expenditures. America and the NATO nations include military annuities and pensions to the still living persons in their national defense expenditures. In Japan, however, they are included in the Welfare Ministry's budget.

The Japan-US Security Treaty is very beneficial for both Japan and the US. Based on this Treaty, American Forces are stationed in Japan as the invited guests of the Japanese Government and people. Japan is lending many bases to America free of charge, and permits it to use them freely. It also offers funds, exceeding one billion dollars for the stationing and the maintenance of about 49,000 personnel of the US Forces in Japan. When this is compared with the case of the US Forces stationed in West Germany, West Germany is expending 1.3 billion dollars for the maintenance of American military personnel, numbering about 245,000 men.

Under the Japan-US Security Treaty, America promises that, in the case of Japan's being attacked, it will dispatch armed forces for the defense of Japan. It will do so, of course, but America hopes that Japan will make still more efforts, than in the past, for the defense of its own country, though this is a matter which is entirely the responsibility of the Japanese side, and which is entrusted completely to Japan's own decision.

Even so, however, America is not asking Japan to become a regional big power. Japan's neighbors are also not desiring this. The Japanese people are also not desiring this. America wants Japan to move forward in the future, too, in the direction of shouldering a still bigger responsibility for the defense of its own country.

Even if Japan were to pile up defense efforts, it does not mean that America's burden will be lessened correspondingly. In actual fact, it is showing the direction of rather increasing. If Japan's share of defense increases, it will become possible for America to move the 7th Fleet more freely than in the past, to give one example.

It Is Not a Free Ride

The Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, which are sea areas for which the 7th Fleet is responsible, account for 70 percent of all the sea surface on the earth and 50 percent of the entire surface of the earth, when land is also included. The western end of the sea area for which it is responsible extends to the western part of the Indian Ocean, and this area is the front entrance to the world's richest oil-producing area, on which Japan depends for much of its oil supply. At the same time, it is the back door to the region of Arab-Israeli disputes, which can catch fire at any time, and which can burst into flame, as at present.

Let me repeat that, it is for this reason that the Japan-US Security Treaty is in the interests of both Japan and the US. This point that it is in the interests of the security of both sides, is coming to be understood in America, too, and as result, the argument that Japan "is taking a free ride on the Security Treaty" is heard less and less, with the passage of each day.

(To be continued)

KH/3983t

TOKYO SHIMBUN (Page 1) (Full)

July 27, 1984

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 12)

Two-Way Cultural Traffic; Good Points of Each Other, Reciprocally

Must Not Lose One's Own Characteristics

I have come into contact with various aspects of Japanese culture, up until now. I like Kabuki dramas. I like ballet, too. Tea ceremony is also fine. However, there is, at times, the problem of their taking too long ... I have also seen judo, karate, sumo, etc., and I liked them all.

It is most gratifying that there still remains, even today, the traditional culture of Japan, born from Japan's history. What I hope is that Japan will not lose its own unique culture too much in the process of pushing modernization. That is because Japanese culture has its roots way back in the past, and it should be treasured.

The history of Japan is wonderful. Japan is an old country, but its old civilization is coming to be reborn, in a new way, acquiring a modern tone. On the surface, the Japanese people are adapting themselves to these changes. However, deep within their hearts, they are trying to retain old things as much as possible. I think that this is a desirable way.

As a new phenomenon, Japanese culture is spreading to America. It is even said that such food as sushi, and persons like Issei MIYAKE, the fashion designer, have become so well known in America that there is no one who does not know them, even among the general citizens. On the other hand, in the sumo world, such American sumo champions as Takamiyama and Konishiki are very active.

I think this kind of phenomenon shows a desirable direction. It is not only Issei MIYAKE alone, who is greatly popular in America. There are also Hanae MORI and Jun ASHIDA. In the world of high fashion, there are many Japanese whose names are known internationally. This is very welcome.

From the sumo world, many groups of champions have toured America and Mexico. One of them toured Hawaii, Jesse's (Takamiyama) home State, at the time of his retirement.

A Kabuki troupe gave a performance at the World Exposition in Knoxville (Tennessee). Calligraphers are also holding exhibits in various places in America. Japanese artists are also becoming internationally more and more famous. It is all very good.

Baseball Is Very Popular

In return for this, in a way, America has also sent its culture to Japan. There is baseball, for example. It seems that baseball has come to occupy a central position in Japan's sports world. There are also fast-food chain stores, such as Kentucky Fried Chicken, MacDonald's, etc.

What we see here is a two-way traffic in culture. I think that both the Japanese and the American peoples are acquiring the best parts of cultural exchange, respectively. This is something which I hope will develop further, in the future. With the passage of time, I think that this kind of exchange will become still more conspicuous, without doubt. That is because this is meaningful and beneficial to both Americans and Japanese.

I mentioned earlier that the Japanese people are trying to retain their own old and unique culture as much as possible. However, as regards their life-style, I think the Japanese are coming to resemble us Americans. Frankly speaking, I am not very happy about this. However, it is also true that you Japanese must face the reality squarely, in accordance with the changes. What must be done must be done, and this cannot be dodged.

So far as housing is concerned, it has become difficult, in post-war Japan, to have roomy, single houses, as in the pre-war days, and high-rise apartment buildings have come to take their place. The reasons for this are the increase in population and the lessening of land for the building of houses. Accompanying this, can it not be said that the concept of family is also coming to lose some of its old traditional side?

The old-age population is also rising. This will become another factor for Japanese society. Of course, the increase in old-age population is also a result of Japan's setting new records in the lengthening of the people's life-span ...

There are other big changes, too, and one of them is the physique of the Japanese people. It is said that, compared with 35 years ago, they have become taller by an average of 3.5 inches (8.9 centimeters) and in weight, too, they have become heavier by about 13 pounds (5.9 kilograms).

Diligence Is Important

There are some people who say that, when the younger generations, who do not know poverty, become the main-stream of society, diligence, which had been the source of Japan's economic miracle, may come to be lost. I, however, do not think so. The Japanese people have worked hard in the past, and I think they will continue to work hard in the future, too. That is because that is the only way for the Japanese people, if they wish to survive and if they wish to continue to maintain international competitive power.

(To be continued)

KH/3999t

SANKEI (Page 1) (Full)

Eve., July 25, 1984

To Seek Exemption from Application to Japan; MITI and Iron-Steel Industry Circles

Concerning the US International Trade Commission's (ITC) having officially recommended to President REAGAN to enforce restrictions on the imports of iron and steel, the Japanese Government showed uneasiness, on the 25th, saying, "If restrictions are enforced, the rise of trade protectionism may accelerate" (MITI). At the same time, it clarified the following policy: (1) [MITI] will seek, through diplomatic channels in the near future, of the US Government a careful attitude; and (2) at the Japan-US iron-steel consultations between the two Governments to be held even early in August, the Ministry will seek understanding as to the actual situation in Japan, which is carrying out autonomous restrictions on iron-steel exports to the US, and based on this, it will seek exemption from application, as to exports from Japan.

The iron and steel import restrictions by the US this time will cause effects on not only Japan but also the whole world. Accordingly, in case restrictions are enforced, just as recommended, it is feared that the EC member nations, too, may resort to retaliatory measures. MITI is worried about a resurgence of protectionism.

Also, concerning effects on iron-steel industry circles in Japan, (MITI) takes the view that in view of the fact that among the items to be restricted, thin sheet and shape steel, which are mainstay export items to the US, are included, the circles concerned will be dealt a big blow. On the other hand, iron-steel circles showed strong repulsion, stressing that "It is clear that Japan, which carries out exports in an orderly way, has caused no injury." They are seeking the exclusion of Japan from the planned restrictions.

KS/3987t

TOKYO SHIMBUN (Page 1) (Full)

July 28, 1984

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 13)

Is "Soviet Threat" Real?; Difference in Perception Between Japan and US

"Security Treaty" Is Mutually Beneficial

I mentioned earlier that I think that the Security Treaty is mutually beneficial. Both Japan and the US are beginning to become aware of this fact. As what Japan has been and is doing for self-defense came to be known, the US began to understand that the Security Treaty is not meant for the defense of just one of the parties, but that it is reciprocal.

The US Forces are not in Japan only to defend Japan in case of attack. They will, of course, defend Japan, should such a situation occur. However, this, at the same time, is for the defense of the US itself, too.

The bases which Japan is allowing the US Forces to use, together with the US bases in the Philippines, constitute the outermost defense line of the US itself. The US would have had to provide answers to a number of its own questions, had there been no US bases in Japan and the Philippines.

This is to say, to what extent will the US have to pull back its defense line in that case? How many tens of billions of dollars will be required to establish a new defense line? How effective will the new defense line be? Such questions would have had to be answered.

Now, holding that the two countries are beginning to become aware of the effects of the Security Treaty, is there not a gap between the Japanese and the Americans with respect to understanding of the "Soviet threat?" Are you saying that the US is over-estimating Soviet military power, and repeating the mistake it once made in viewing China as the source of all evils?

I think the US is seeing the potential threat of the Soviet Union from a global viewpoint. As opposed to this, Japan is inclined to think only in terms of a certain geographical range wherein it is located. Although Japan looks at the Soviet threat from an extremely limited viewpoint as such, I think the Japanese people acquired deeper understanding of this threat at the time of the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet Forces.

As far as I can see, it seems like the Japanese are coming to gain more detailed knowledge of what is happening in East Asia. This is because the Japanese are well aware of the fact that approximately 25% of the Soviet Ground Forces are deployed along the Sino-Soviet border, and that some are also deployed in the northern part of Vladivostok. They also know that 26% of the Soviet Air Force is deployed in the same area. Both the Soviet Ground Forces and the Air Force are first-class, modern, war potentials.

The Japanese know that the Soviet Pacific Fleet, which has Vladivostok as its home port, is the largest and the best of the four fleets of the Soviet Navy. Moreover, the Pacific Fleet is continually being built up and improved.

Steady Build-Up of Soviet Union

The Japanese also are aware of the fact that the Soviet Union is plotting to advance into Southeast Asia. This is because the Soviet fleet going in and out of Vladivostok is sailing all over the Sea of Japan, going to the north and to the south. It is the same with Soviet aircraft.

You also know that the power of the Soviet Union in Vietnam is increasing, based on the Treaty between the two countries. Furthermore, you also know that it became possible for the Soviet Union to have direct access to the Indian Ocean all year round for the first time in history by using such Vietnamese ports as Dan Nang, Haiphong, and Cam Ranh Bay, as well as the nearby airports.

The Japanese people also should know about the actual situation of the Northern Territory, which is occupied by Soviet Forces, though undoubtedly Japanese territory. This is to say that, according to our observations, the Soviet Union increased the strength of its forces in the Northern Territory from approximately 2,000 to 10,000 - 12,000. Moreover, it is certain that a wing of MIG-25 fighter aircraft is deployed on one of the four northern islands.

As such, you know about the Soviet threat, too. Is it not that you are simply accepting the actual situation, so to speak, instead of creating an uproar? We are paying careful attention to the reality of the threat in the northern Pacific, which is a terribly important strategic region. Yet, it is nothing more than a part of a global caution.

There is a difference in perception between the Japanese and the Americans. This can be understood. However, is it not that both are aware of the fact that there is a potential danger?

Always Respect "Anti-Nuclearism"

I hear that Kanagawa Prefecture recently adopted an "Anti-Nuclear Declaration" in connection with the problem of Tomahawk nuclear missiles. We are aware of the existence of Japan's Three Non-Nuclear Principles. The fact that the US has always kept the Three Principles in mind, and has been acting in accordance with the Principles in dealing with the Japanese Government, has been proven.

Are anti-nuclear sentiments deeply rooted among the Japanese? Well, is not that (such strong public sentiments) democracy?

(To be continued)

JY/4025t

NIHON KEIZAI (Page 1) (Full)

Eve., July 30, 1984

Joint Meeting Starts -- Japan-ROK Co-operation Committee and ROK-Japan Co-operation Committee

The Japan-ROK Co-operation Committee and the ROK-Japan Co-operation Committee -- which Committees are respectively composed of Japanese and ROK knowledgeable people in various circles, such as political, economic, and cultural circles -- held their 22nd joint meeting, for a two-day session, at a hotel in Tokyo, on the 30th, from 10:00 a.m. The two Committees, at their joint meeting, are to hold talks generally about the two countries' relations, prior to ROK President CHUN Doo Hwan's visit to Japan in early September. At the beginning of the session, ROK-Japan Co-operation Committee Chairman SIN Hyon Hwak gave a speech, and then Prime Minister NAKASONE's message and President CHUN's message were read out.

Prime Minister NAKASONE, in his message, expressed his welcome to the ROK President's visit to Japan, and stated as follows: "I believe firmly that the two countries' co-operative relationship will become firm on this occasion and will greet a new stage for progress."

Also, President CHUN, in his message, emphasized the significance of his visit to Japan, as follows: "The consolidation of the two countries' co-operation structure has an important meaning for peace in Asia and in the world. I hope that my official visit to Japan will become an epoch-making opportunity to expand the two countries' co-operative relationship on a marked scale."

IM/4035t

ARTICLES

TOKYO SHIMBUN (Page 1) (Full)

July 29, 1984

To My Japanese Friends; US Ambassador to Japan M. MANSFIELD (Part 14 - Conclusion)

Hasty Country and Slow Country; Urges Progress, Keeping Pace

Toward Mature Relations

It can be said that the relations between Japan and the US are mature, seen from either side. Although the US was kind of slow in accepting Japan and East Asia as its equals, a step was taken forward owing to the appearance of President REAGAN, who looks toward Asia and the Pacific. I think the fact that the President became great friends with the Japanese Prime Minister did much for Japan and the US.

A similarly close relationship is developing between Secretary of State SHULTZ and Foreign Minister ABE. Ever since they assumed office, they have, in fact, have had 13 face-to-face talks including the talks they held in Jakarta on the occasion of the Expanded Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Association of South East Asia Nations (ASEAN).

As such, I think Japan-US relations are presently approaching a plateau supported by the principle of equality and deeper understanding. Relations between the two countries are strong and stable, and will probably withstand future trials and become even stronger.

As to the future of Japan-US relations, there will be friction, since trade transactions between them amount to more than \$63 billion annually, and there are problems between the two, which problems are sufficiently difficult in themselves, with such things as the amount of trade and the complexity of the contents of the trade. Anyhow, there have been no two countries since the beginning of the history of mankind, which two were connected by such a large amount of trade.

The trade between the two countries will increase further in the future, and, accordingly, it will be easier for problems to occur. Yet, we have so far been able to work out problems of this kind somehow. I think we will be able to deal with new problems as well, if we deepen our understanding of each other. This is because it is to the interests of both Japan and the US to do so.

Further Opening of Markets

What is expected of Japan in the future is to open its markets more. Although this is not based on anything concrete, Japan probably will continue to have a considerable surplus in its trade with the US, even if it opens its markets 100%. Even so, I think the US should be given in Japan the same chance which is given Japan in the US. In fact, it seems like the situation is changing in that direction.

Both Japan and the US think that the final goals of the two are in agreement. If there presently is a difference between the two countries with regard to the problems of trade and defense, it is, in a word, the difference in "pace." We, Americans, have a fiery temper, and, figuratively speaking, hope to do yesterday what can be done today.

As opposed to this, the Japanese hope to put it off until tomorrow. This is, of course, a figure of speech. Still, the Japanese think that they are doing things with much haste. It is certainly true in terms of your custom.

In saying that "the pace is of importance," I mean that we are proceeding in the correct direction. The problem is whether or not the situation is proceeding at a speed which is satisfactory to both sides.

The US must be more patient. Then again, it is not good to be too patient. Anyhow, it is necessary for both Japan and the US to understand each other's standpoints more.

The fact is that we are dealing with each other based on the principle of equality, and this is a correct attitude.

The fact is that the US set up a relationship unprecedented in its history -- I firmly believe that it is unprecedented in the history of Japan, too.

The fact is that Japan and the US should not take anything for granted.

The fact is that the future of the Pacific Basin region, where the four continents meet, and that of the most of the remainder of the world, depends on whether or not the two countries will share responsibilities, and fulfill responsibilities.

It is necessary for both Japan and the US to keep these things in mind.

"Century of Pacific"

Although the US had been "attracted" across the Atlantic by Europe until now, it had always been "pushing out" toward the west. Walt WHITMAN, a great American poet of the 19th century, wrote "Westward Bound. Just westward bound to Oregon.

If WHITMAN were alive today, he would write as follows:

"Westward bound. Just westward bound to the Orient."

No one can avoid coming to the conclusion that the coming century will be the "century of the Pacific" in view of how the population has been moving in the US, and how numerical values have been increasing with respect to trade and investments in foreign countries. It can be said that how the world will be during the next several decades will be determined by how this region, where more than half of the world's population lives, and which is rich in resources and is a large prospective market, will develop.

Moreover, how the Pacific Basin region develops depends solely on Japan-US relations. It all depends on the course of the unmatched and the most important bilateral relationship in the world.

JY/4029t

MAINICHI (Page 2) (Full)

Eve., July 27, 1984

Personnel Action in Foreign Ministry

The following personnel action in the Foreign Ministry was officially announced under the date of July 27:

Masatoshi OTA (Ambassador to Zambia, and concurrently Ambassador to Swaziland, Ambassador to Botswana, and Ambassador to Lesotho) has been appointed to the concurrent post of Ambassador to Angola.

IM/4015t